

ATTACHMENT 1

October 14, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22312

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

My name is Zavid Bhaiyat and I am writing this letter with regards to Haroon Kalim Ullah. I have interacted with Haroon socially and professional since 2007. I met Haroon when he came to some of my faith-based lectures in Laurel, Maryland and sought spiritual counseling. I have become very close to Haroon and his family over the years. His in-laws are very dear to me as well, during the past few months, I have discussed all stages of his case with him in-depth. I believe I have a firm grasp of his character.

Besides doing faith-based lectures, I serve as the religious leader of the Islamic Community Center of Laurel, based in Laurel, Maryland. I have worked as a religious and spiritual leader for the past twenty five years. It is in this capacity that I served and performed Haroon's marriage to his wife Naba. I was honored to perform the marriage ceremony and to witness the beautiful union of two people I immensely respect and care about.

I have also served as a spiritual counselor to Naba's family as they pray for and cope with the pain and devastation of Naba's mother's situation, as she has been in a coma for the past year and a half. I have visited her at the bedside and their family in the intensive care unit and at several of the hospitals and care centers where she has been, and I can see the toll this has taken on the family. I knew Naba's mother quite well, and what a vibrant personality she was. She was especially fond of Haroon, and likewise, Haroon thought of her as a second mother. I cannot emphasize enough what a tragic and stressful time this has been for the entire family, including Haroon. I have been impressed with how Haroon has played such a supportive role in this regard, just as if it were his own mother. I have counseled them all individually and together as a family on numerous occasions throughout this situation, and continue to do so.

I have also counseled Haroon as he dealt with the consequences of violating the law. As the government's case progressed against Haroon, it became apparent that the professional and personal damage to him could be devastating. It would have been easy for Haroon to shut down emotionally, or act as if were a victim of the system.

That never happened. In fact, the opposite is true.

Haroon fully acknowledged the poor decisions he made. In our faith tradition, it is critical to accept complete responsibility for one's actions. Haroon pledged to work toward making things right by cooperating fully with the government. He never diminished the seriousness of his

crime and the pain his poor decisions had. Haroon is quick to blame himself for the problems he caused and the sanction he must endure.

This is emblematic of who Haroon is. He has been humble and always quick to help people in any way he can.

Early in our relationship, I remember that Haroon was helping two other parties in a dispute resolution. I had asked Haroon to intervene and to see if he could bring these two contentious parties to a peaceful resolution. Many people I had asked before had lost patience and were too busy to help these two individuals reach a consensus. But when I asked Haroon, he made sure to make time at night and over the weekend to help alleviate the stress of the conflict. Haroon spent countless hours to get to a resolution and to build trust with each side. After four months of hard work, Haroon was able to achieve a win-win resolution between the two contentious parties. As always, Haroon downplayed his own role and gave credit to the two individuals.

Haroon made a seriously flawed decision in his career and he is well aware of this. What impresses me most about Haroon is his personal responsibility. I believe that much of this comes from Haroon's strong faith in God and his belief that he is on the long hard path towards redemption. Haroon is already volunteering his time and looking for ways to give back to young people and the community.

The results of Haroon's actions will be with him for the rest of his life. But I don't have any doubt that he'll spend time working to prove worthy of the many blessings that he still has. Knowing Haroon very well, I can confidently say that he has been an excellent husband to Naba and dutiful father to his baby girl, Hira. He continues to invest in his relationships and understand his important responsibilities.

I hope that you will take these thoughts into consideration as you think about the appropriate punishment for his crime.

Respectfully,



Zavid Bhaiyat

Nov 10, 2019

The Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
401 Courthouse Square
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Judge Ellis:

I am writing with regard to Haroon Ullah, to let you know about his character and his service to country that I have personally witnessed. As an attorney and officer of the court, I understand the serious nature of his wrongdoing but I also know how much of an impact Haroon's work has made throughout his time in government service and academia. While I understand the need to prosecute this case, I know that Haroon has already been doing community service and counseling to understand why he strayed from his strong moral principles in this manner.

I worked with Haroon Ullah over the past eight years in a variety of roles, including overseeing his work in Pakistan while at U.S. Embassy Islamabad. I came to the Department of State after working as a warzone journalist based in London, Moscow, Tokyo, and later as the White House Correspondent and then attorney in private practice in the U.S. and abroad in Russia and Ukraine. At State, I served as the Minister Counselor Director of Strategic Communications at the U.S. Embassy Kabul and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asia and Senior Adviser to the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan ("SRAP"). Throughout my various career paths, I have worked with countless U.S. career staff and political appointees and I found Haroon to be a unique individual in the way he serves his country, putting his life on the line repeatedly in our battle against violent extremism inspired by the Taliban, Al-Shabab, Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

I first met and heard of Haroon while living and serving in Afghanistan in 2011-12. His work and insights on violent extremism in Pakistan were already legendary. Haroon helped establish and run a unique counter terrorism office at the US Embassy in Islamabad, finding new ways to undercut terrorist narratives by developing a combination of mixed media, authentic campaigns and building new relationships with civil and religious leaders. None of this would have been possible without his cultural background and academic research. We copied some of the programs in Afghanistan, especially one engaging with Mullahs who had been spreading extremist ideology, by connecting them to more moderate Islamic leaders in places like Jordan and Indonesia. After the program, their sermons changed to the point that the Marine command in Helmand Province credited the program with saving lives and turning the narrative of a U.S. occupation in Afghanistan to one of U.S. support serving the Afghan people.

In fact, Haroon's programs were doing so well that he and his family became targets, receiving threats, yet Haroon remained undeterred. When Haroon left Pakistan, I worked hard to make sure we could keep him and his expertise at State, recommending he be hired to advise the

new Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy, Richard Stengel. Stengel had also heard from both intelligence officers and Ambassadors about Haroon's ability to translate theory into practices that limited recruitment by these terror groups. I called upon Haroon to help me set up an interagency working group when I returned from Kabul to share information, measure outcomes, and share best practices. We ultimately developed a tool kit for U.S. officers on the ground throughout the world to identify rising radicalization and work with host governments to develop programs similar to those we had successfully used in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This work was credited in Bangladesh and in Europe, for successfully deterring foreign fighter recruitment.

Because of his deep skill set in counter terrorism, Haroon was one of the first people to recognize the new methods ISIS were using online in 2014-2015 to spread extremist narratives and recruit men and women alike, which was happening at alarming rates. In his new role with the Undersecretary, Haroon helped us deepen contacts with digital platforms such as Google, Facebook, Twitter, and Snapchat, making them aware of how their businesses were being used, and enabling them to cut off access to the targeted advertising these groups were using.

In this capacity, Haroon rolled up his sleeves and traveled the world to work with our coalition partners and civil society groups to teach them the tools we were using to identify and thwart the threat ISIS posed. It was because of Haroon's reputation and academic work that many of these partners took the meeting and listened to him. His dedication to this mission never wavered even when confronted by the tragedy of the death of his younger brother Muneer, from a blood clot at the age of 25 in April 2015. Despite being on a work trip and the devastation this loss posed for Haroon and his family, he finished his work and only then came back for the funeral and to spend time with family. While we gave Haroon every opportunity to take a month or longer off to grieve, especially given his unpaid overtime and the unused vacation he had accumulated over all these years, he only took a week off and came right back to work. His reason? Haroon felt that ISIS and the terrorists he was working against weren't going to take any time off.

Haroon's work at the U.S. Agency for Global Media gave him an even bigger platform to fight disinformation and to degrade terrorist media networks and narratives. His work has been noted by senior White House officials, Secretary Pompeo and others in the federal interagency. I only hope that work can be allowed to continue in the future, as his expertise is something we so desperately continue to need.

I take Haroon's criminal actions very seriously, especially as a former federal official and an attorney. We are held to a high standard for a reason and I believe Haroon has taken full responsibility for his significant errors and actions. Haroon has been open about his conduct and he has only blamed himself. He has understood that he deserves all the punishment and suffering he has received, which is monumental given it will be impossible for him to serve in government again with a security clearance and difficult if not impossible to work in academia at the level in which his expertise would warrant. Haroon has spent time a lot of time in reflection and I admire that he has taken ownership for all of his actions and errors. He is a

father of a young daughter and I know he wants to explain to his daughter when she is old enough why he committed these crimes and what he has learned from them. These life-long lessons will serve Haroon well over the next few decades and I know, despite a conviction on his record, Haroon will find a path towards giving back, public service and redemption.

Simply put, Haroon Ullah is too important an asset for this country's national security apparatus to lose completely. We do not have people with his combined experience, academic background, analytical and practical skillsets to plug into so many areas of our national security units as needed. As a former warzone reporter, I know the kind of young men and women we need on the frontlines to fight these terrorists: hard-working and dedicated to the point they are willing to sacrifice their own lives to save others. Haroon has shown he is fully committed to protecting our country and has and will continue to save American lives, given the chance as he fights for redemption and rebuilds his life. That is not a matter of hyperbole but a statement of fact. I thank you for your consideration as you weigh his sentence and hope you will find mercy for him and his family.

With regards,



Eileen M. O'Connor

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22312

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

Dear Judge Ellis:

My name is Zarfshan Ullah and I am Haroon Ullah's mother. I am very sorry that my son violated federal law. He made some seriously bad decisions and he knows it. I am saddened by the thought that he engaged in business that harmed our government. Our family is going through a process of self-examination and contrition together. Please accept this letter as my humble way to tell you more about my beloved son Haroon. Haroon has taken full responsibility for his criminal activity and is ready to accept his punishment with courage and dignity.

Haroon is a kind and gentle person. He has a big heart and will often tear up and cry spontaneously when he sees or hears something that touches him. Haroon has always treated my husband and I kindly and respectfully. He is very attentive to his dad who is elderly and had health issues. Haroon comes from a good hard-working family. We have lived in eastern Washington state for nearly 30 years before moving closer to Haroon on the east coast. The past five years we have cherished our opportunities to be of service and participate in the community. God and America has blessed us with peaceful, prosperous lives and we are forever grateful. My husband, now retired, worked at the US nuclear site Hanford Nuclear reservation and worked to keep our country safe.

Haroon worked at the same company as his father and we taught him to have a good work ethic. As his mother, it has been extremely hard for me to watch Haroon struggle due to his actions in this situation. Thankfully he has accepted full responsibility and knows the life long road to redemption has already begun.

My youngest son Muneer was born with congenital heart defect, and it began one of the most challenging periods in our life and in Haroon's as well. Our whole life was turned upside down. A young Muneer would go through two open heart surgeries. He had a lower chance to live on his first surgery. We had to confront the reality that he might not make it. Haroon took time off from his activities and school to be close to home--attending college 45 minutes away from our house so he could come back on the weekends to help with Muneer and be there for him at the hospital. Throughout all of this, Haroon was always there, dependable and upbeat. He continued to excel in his studies as he graduated salutatorian. Both more than anything, he loved Muneer and wanted to devote everything he could to our family. He made a vow that he would never borrow money from us because he saw the toll of Muneer's health care bills on the family. And he kept that promise, putting himself through college, graduate school and beyond by himself.

Haroon loves to mentor and counsel young people. He cares about young people and is always ready to help. No one doubts his loving devotion to his young daughter Hira and to our entire family. He has a tender heart and won't hesitate to help out less fortunate friends and neighbors. Unknown to us, he provided food, clothing and shelter to orphans in countries that he visited while doing his doctoral work.

He is kind and does not turn away from people in need. Haroon has a gentle nature. He does not confront, argue, or act on his anger. I know that he will continue to seek redemption throughout his life.

While I recognize the gravity of his actions, I am proud of how he has responded, owned, and taken full ownership for what he has done. He seems calmer and more willing to talk and communicate. I believe Haroon has and will continue to learn from this and change his life's course for the better, God-willing. We are confident that he will stay on this path. My whole family wants Haroon to emerge from this legal process with a desire to live a peaceful, responsible life of love, honesty, and service to the community.

As a loving mother, I truly am asking you from the bottom of my heart to consider all the goodness of his character, and not this grave mistake as defining him for the remainder of his life. Your Honor, we love Haroon very much and hope you will have mercy on him.

Sincerely,

October 30, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22312

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

My name is Dr. Muhammed Kaleem Ullah and I am the father of Dr. Haroon Ullah. I love my son very much and know him better than most. This letter is my understanding of Haroon's character, something I have witnessed over the past 41 years. This letter is also pleading redemption for my son, Haroon. He lost his job over a year ago, has no primary income, and is practically broke with a wife and a 9-month-old baby girl to support. He has suffered tremendously. I still cry at midnight what has happened to our hopes and dreams.

First, I want to tell you how disappointed I am with Haroon's actions. He has been completely forthcoming about this current predicament. When I learned about it, I told him to accept the responsibility of his actions and be forthright about them. I have always taught Haroon to do the right thing and when one errs, to correct those violations by seeking redemption and examining one's self. I firmly believe that Haroon is on that path of self-reflection and has made great strides by accepting full responsibility.

To give some insight into the values I instilled into Haroon, let me share with you some of my own background. I grew up in a destitute village in a remote area of Pakistan with no running water and electricity. Growing up with a large family and heavy responsibility, I worked hard to be a top student, becoming the first in my family to graduate from university. I won a scholarship to study in England, completing my PhD at Leeds University in the 1970's.

I eventually moved my family to the United States in 1980. My new country and my new home country welcomed and embraced my family and I. Our next-door neighbors treated us with kindness and respect. The public education system provided outstanding opportunities for my five children to excel and develop into self-achieving human beings. The entire society and system allowed me to achieve my dreams and ambitions.

I worked as a scientist/engineer at the Hanford Nuclear site in Washington state with Department of Energy contractors. I was offered extraordinary opportunities to serve. Hanford nuclear site is one of the first homes to a full-scale plutonium fuel processing facility and reactors in the world. I have dedicated my career to helping the federal engineering projects and teaching the next generation of practitioners in this field for over 35 years. I often worked under conditions of high radiation and earned a top security clearance due to the sensitivity of my work. Additionally, I taught at Washington State University as an adjunct professor of engineering and physics.

I only mention this as a prelude to the values and origin story of our family and Haroon. We taught Haroon to work hard and engage in activities that will benefit the society and the country. I

knew what it means coming from abject poverty and community-based violence. I made sure to teach my children to take nothing for granted and to always shoot for the stars in what they could achieve. I encouraged Haroon from the early age to do community service and find a path to give back to others and to the country that has given him and our family so much.

As a result, Haroon worked very hard in school. Being a talented student, he skipped grades and graduated from high school as a Salutatorian and star tennis player. After completing his undergraduate degree at Whitman College in Washington state he completed his Master's program at Harvard University. He eventually was confirmed as a PhD degree from the University of Michigan. He started his career at the State Department. He quickly rose to a senior position and was appointed to work in Islamabad, Pakistan, where he spent nearly 6 years fighting terrorism and defending his country. During his tenure at the State Department he authored four books and earned several accolades. One of his books is about fighting terrorism and counterterrorism. He has been sought-out speaker on terrorism all over the country and abroad. His work and performance have been highly ranked and at a senior level is considered stellar performance. As a result, he received several awards and recognitions. His character is excellent and he has no previous criminal record or misdeeds. As a father, I am extremely proud of him.

At home, I also emphasize faith and family values. We would perform prayers together and I always prioritized quality family time and reflection. Haroon has a very compassionate personality and is loving towards family, his friends, and others. He usually always has a smile on his face and is always looking to bring people together. More impressive than his accolades is the fact that he is always willing to help those in need. Our family endured a tragic time when my youngest son passed away in 2015. Haroon helped to console us and go through the grieving process by making sure we lived close to him so he could visit us multiple times a week. We couldn't have gotten through this difficult and sad period without Haroon's moral and physical support.

As a former public servant, I recognize the seriousness of Haroon's law violating conduct. I know that he has accepted full responsibility. In our faith tradition, we teach that you should focus on learning from past errors and to spend a lot of time in self-reflection to make sure those never happen again. We are confident that he will stay on this path. My whole family wants Haroon to emerge from this legal process with a desire to live a peaceful, responsible life of love, honesty, and service to the community.

As a father entering his final years, I wanted to let you know about the son I raised over the past 41 years. He is truly a special son and someone that will work towards redemption with the rest of his years.

Sincerely,



Dr. Muhammed Kaleem Ullah



CENTER FOR GLOBAL POLICY

Delivering Clarity. Enhancing Security.

1776 Massachusetts Avenue Suite 120 Washington, DC 20036

October 1, 2019

Judge Ellis
Eastern District Court of VA
401 Courthouse Square
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

I am writing this letter to express my personal thoughts on Dr. Haroon Ullah case. These thoughts do not reflect any opinions of my employer or past employers.

My name is Qamar-ul Huda, I am the Vice President of Strategy and Development at The Center for Global Policy (CGP), a nonprofit, nonpartisan independent think-tank based in Washington, DC that focuses on U.S. foreign policy, international security, global stability and geopolitics. The CGP team of policy experts informs policy discourses at all levels of government – from the White House to the Department of State to the Armed Forces – on a wide range of foreign policy issues.

I do not condone Dr. Ullah's lapse of judgement as a professional. However, I do think Dr. Ullah's leadership in the national security field is exemplary and he has paid a great deal of personal costs for his outstanding contributions, which needs some attention.

I first met Dr. Ullah in 2009 when he was working for the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, for U.S. Ambassador Cameron Munter. At the time, I was working for the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), a Congressionally funded institution to reduce global conflicts, on projects related to peacebuilding and conflict management. I understood that Dr. Ullah and his team had a unique diplomatic portfolio to increase communities' capacity to be resilient from violent extremist propaganda. This portfolio of countering violent extremism (CVE) programming was at the early stages of policy development at the U.S. State Department and the White House, which was astounding since the 9/11 terrorist attacks happened eight years earlier. Nevertheless, Dr. Ullah had the tall order of creating comprehensive programs to support vulnerable communities from violent extremists. His work in Pakistan was recognized by the CVE global industry as one of the most innovative impactful programs in the field and it is still cited by experts as the blueprint

for CVE projects. I saw Dr. Ullah's work admired, praised, and cited by the Office of Director of Intelligence, the U.S. Secretary of Department of State, and senior officials in President Obama's White House and the Secretary of Homeland Security.

In the year of 2014, I was hired by the U.S. State Department Secretary's Office of Religion and Global Affairs as a senior policy advisor. My work was to support all foreign policy initiatives that intersected with religious communities or involved dynamics of religious leadership. I learned Dr. Ullah joined the Office of Public Diplomacy with Secretary Stengel.

I think it is important to contextualize the professional life at the U.S. State Department. First, it is an incredibly fast-past environment with multiple challenges of policy assessment and delivering foreign policies for one's superiors. Working directly for the Secretary meant being immediately available for the White House, the National Security Council, and numerous intelligence agencies. Second, one needs to collaborate with often challenging government colleagues at the U.S. State Department while proactively identify and implement goals, strategies, and provide real-time strategic direction to effectively promote and protect national security policies.

In particular, my understanding of the Office of Public Diplomacy – where Dr. Ullah worked- is that diplomats in this Office have the immense task of coordinating appropriate messaging and having consistent communications with all of its 198 missions around the world. To be honest, aside from Secretary Kerry, his staff and other senior officials, I do not know any other colleague at the U.S. State Department who needed to travel extensively and represent the U.S. government than Dr. Ullah. It is incredibly demanding on the mind, body, and on our families. Diplomatic work requires intense travel commitments and intense nuanced conversations on multiple issues; however, there is very little attention paid to the well-being and work-family balance. The pressure on diplomats are compounded with multiple levels of stress when we need to travel to war zones such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Yemen – some of the countries I believe Dr. Ullah had to travel. In addition to the immense travel requirements, one needs to stay on top of the daily workload in Washington, DC and in other capitals.

I recall one situation where in a period of six months Dr. Ullah's marriage ended in a divorce and his younger brother died. I reached out to him to check up on him. During this conversation I learned that Dr. Ullah only took five days off for the funeral and grieving for his brother. I was just astonished. I could not imagine how he is keeping the pace of work in light of his personal losses. But, Dr. Ullah's relentless commitment to the Secretary's Office and his work for the U.S. government led him to sacrifice personal time for professional life. Two massive personal losses are hard for anyone person to manage. I do think that even if a person represses these losses to maintain professional life, the lack of sleep and intense travel alone could probably have led to poor judgement and unusual behavior.

While post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) is generally acknowledged for military veterans returning home, it is less appreciated for diplomats returning from war zones or

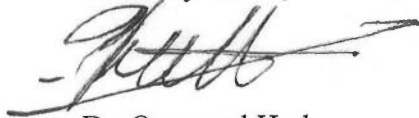
conflict-based countries. The fact is that we diplomats, too, suffer from PTSD symptoms such as: depression, lack of sleep, loss of appetite, intense migraine headaches, nightmares, being easily startled, feelings of anxiety, hypersensitivity, repressed or avoiding emotional self-care, emotional numbness, thoughts of suicide, isolation, forgetfulness and loss of short-term memory, etc.. With the demanding work travel as a diplomat, one does not have easy access to counseling services rather one needs to rely on the personal discipline of seeking out psychiatric support.

Dr. Ullah sacrificed a great deal of family and personal time to advance U.S. government national security interests. Occasionally, these sacrifices are recognized with a pointless 'outstanding service' certificate; however, there is very little institutional attention to or appreciation of the trauma a diplomat incurs while serving the country. Lost time with children and spouses, failed marriages, mental health issues, not being connected to a regular community, lack of sleep and other pressing issues are never discussed in this career. This is a travesty given how other private and public industries purposefully address work-life balance.

I do not excuse or condone Dr. Ullah's actions. I sincerely believe him when he says he is remorseful, and he apologizes for his shortcomings. In assessing his lapse of ethical behavior, I think it incredibly important to understand the high pressure environment in which Dr. Ullah was operating in and the demanding professional culture in which he needed to perform, plus the lack of grieving time he allocated for himself—all of these conditions, I think need to be factored in his sentencing.

Your Honor, if you wish to discuss this matter in greater detail, I am available. Thank you for reading my statement.

Sincerely Yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Qamar-ul Huda', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Dr. Qamar-ul Huda

MUSTAFA TAMEEZ

November 20, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria Virginia 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

My name is Mustafa Tameez and I am writing this character reference letter on behalf of Haroon Ullah. Before I begin, let me explain the context in which I've come to know Haroon.

I am the President of Outreach Strategists, based in Houston Texas. Through this firm, we consult with private sector and public sector clients on communication and business intelligence projects. It is through this consulting group that I have gotten to know Haroon well over the past twelve years. I've talked with Haroon on developing counter-extremist programs, both here in the US as well as in countries such as Pakistan for many years.

I got to know Haroon through his counterterrorism and public diplomacy work at the US Department of State. I have consulted with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) during the Bush administration and currently, am working on a grant from DHS on countering violent extremism (CVE) in Houston, Texas. I've also worked on CVE exchange trips between Germany and the US on behalf of the US Department of State.

Haroon has lengthy experience working at the highest levels of our government. He served three Secretaries of State and served on the personal staff of two of them (Secretary Tillerson and Secretary Kerry). He was personally recruited by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke to be part of his unique team looking to stabilize Afghanistan and Pakistan. I know about the daily risks Haroon took to do his work at the US Embassy in Pakistan and the wider region. He risked his life to defend this country and was

responsible for designing information campaigns to go after the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Taiba and other extremist groups threatening American interests.

I have rarely seen someone with Haroon's pedigree rise up the ranks and earn the trust of senior Cabinet level members in a short period of time. Haroon naturally takes on leadership principles in order to motivate and be efficient with his colleagues.

While working in Pakistan, Haroon designed a program aimed at reaching mothers of potential extremists. He went to great lengths to sketch out the program and to travel to meet mothers whose sons had been recruited by Al Qaeda and the Taliban. When Haroon discussed this project with me, he recounted that he had met a mother named Bilqees who was heartbroken because two of her sons had been recruited by the Taliban. Haroon took personal attention to Bilqees' plight and wanted to create a campaign to help these mothers. Many in the Embassy thought it would take too long to implement. Haroon, however, had promised Bilqees that he would help her and her remaining sons and he wanted to keep his promise.

No one had tackled this idea before as it had been too difficult to address this underlying problem. Haroon worked hard to make sure that he could secure program funding. After three months of consultation and planning, Haroon was able to launch the program with a cross-section of support from Pakistani civil society and the Pakistani government. The program was successful in reaching over 300 vulnerable mothers and won an award from the US embassy in Islamabad. Haroon's perseverance prevailed because he felt strongly about protecting the US and innocent citizens in Pakistan as well.

As you decide upon the appropriate sentence to hand down in this case, please consider Haroon's extraordinary service to our country, his acknowledgement of his illegal actions and his steps towards atonement, and the costs to his career that have already been made.

Haroon has accepted full responsibility for his criminal actions, which is detailed in the statement of facts and of which Haroon has been fully transparent on. I would expect nothing else from him, as he is a self-aware individual and has shown integrity in my interactions with him. I have no doubt that he will focus on redemption and a new way of giving back on community service.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Mustafa Tameez', with a stylized, flowing script.

Mustafa Tameez

October 17, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria, VA 22312

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

My name is Safia Hussain. I am an attorney and close friend of Haroon Kalim Ullah's wife, Naba, who I first met in 1999, when we both attended Wellesley College. I first met Haroon around 2001 at a faith-based dinner at Wellesley, while he was a graduate student at Harvard Kennedy School of Government. While I did not know Haroon well initially, I got to know him better over the course of the almost two decades that have since passed. To me, Haroon has always been a warm and friendly individual who has been dedicated to both his family and to his community.

Haroon's dedication to family has been evident to me in how he has been taking care of his mother-in-law, who fell into a sudden coma a year and a half ago. Naba's mother was a loving mother and mother-in-law to Naba and Haroon and so her sudden illness has been devastating to both of them, as well as to Naba's family. I hosted Naba and Haroon at my home in New Jersey overnight on several occasions while they visited Naba's mother, who has been staying in nearby medical facilities, and so I saw firsthand how devoted Haroon has been as a son-in-law and as a husband. While I saw that Haroon was stressed and tired from a combination of the constant traveling to and from DC since Naba's mother first fell ill, the growing medical bills stemming from the care for Naba's mother, and the difficulty of Naba's pregnancy during much of last year and then subsequently managing the care of a newborn, I do not recall hearing Haroon ever voice a complaint about the challenging circumstances he faced. It was during one of these trips that Haroon disclosed his legal troubles to me.

I also saw Haroon's dedication to family and community in another tragic context. When my own mother-in-law passed away after a long illness in the spring of 2017, Haroon flew down to Atlanta immediately thereafter to comfort us. His compassion meant a lot to us. After dealing with his younger brother's death a few years ago, Haroon understood the importance of showing up for friends in such difficult times.

I have also witnessed firsthand Haroon's dedication to serving the public interest. Both Haroon and I have been involved with the nonprofit organization Muslim Public Service Network (MPSN), which runs a summer intern housing and education program for young Muslim college and graduate students in Washington, DC. In 2006, while I participated in MPSN's program as an alumna, Haroon served as a resident advisor. More recently, I offered pro bono legal counsel to MPSN and saw firsthand Haroon's dedication to the organization as a board member. I also have come to learn that, through much time and effort, Haroon played a pivotal role in re-energizing the organization last year, which had become dormant in recent years for various reasons. He put a significant amount of time and effort into restarting the organization and helped prepare it for its first summer program in several years, all the while

also managing trips to visit his ill mother-in-law and helping his wife through pregnancy and then with the baby after delivery. This past summer, in part thanks to Haroon's efforts, MPSN successfully hosted 14 students, who interned on Capitol Hill and at various think tanks.

Given all that I have witnessed Haroon do for his family, friends, and community, I was surprised and disappointed to hear about his recent misdeeds. The actions Haroon acknowledged to have committed in his plea agreement did not align with what I had seen of his character. And while the actions cannot be excused, it is my sincere belief and impression that Haroon has been deeply affected by this experience and that he will learn from it. I respectfully request that, in determining an appropriate sentence for Haroon, the court take into consideration that he has suffered significant consequences of his actions already, including loss of employment and wages, virtually irreparable damage to his career ambitions, reputational harm within the American Muslim community, and the associated strain and stress that comes with involvement in the justice system. Finally, as a parent of young children, I also hope the court will recognize how difficult it would be to separate Haroon and Naba's baby girl from one of her loving parents for any extended period of time.

Sincerely,



Safia Hussain

Isra J. Bhatti
6501 Manor Ridge Ct
Falls Church, VA 22043

The Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria, VA 22314

Honorable Judge Ellis:

I am an attorney in the D.C. area and a friend of Haroon K. Ullah. As a former law clerk to three federal judges, I remember reading through many letters like this one and found them to be valuable in helping my judge understand the social history characteristics of a defendant. I hope that this letter might do the same for you as you prepare to sentence Haroon.

I have known Haroon for over 13 years, first as a friend of my husband and then as a friend of our family. Haroon's crime came as a shock to me. But I was not shocked to learn that he deeply regrets, feels ashamed by, and accepts full responsibility for his actions. In all the years I have known him, Haroon has shown himself to be a person of integrity, thoughtfulness, kindness, and courage. Now a father to a 10-month-old daughter, he has shown a maturity and unselfishness that has impressed me. You can feel assured that Haroon has learned from the unfortunate actions that bring him before you and that he will never again engage in any such wrongdoing.

When I first met Haroon and his family, I felt an instant kinship. He and I shared the inimitable experience of having a brother with a profound disability and the challenges of navigating issues of stigma, prejudice, and exclusion in our communities. Our backgrounds were surprisingly similar: our families had originally come from the same town in Pakistan, our brothers were the youngest of our four siblings, and we were each the second-oldest. We both felt the same sense of responsibility and care for our younger brothers and the same drive to make the world more inclusive and accessible. We shared a particular passion for championing the rights of individuals with disabilities and their families in community- and faith-based spaces. Logically, then, I turned to Haroon to help me launch the first-ever dialogue on promoting the inclusion of individuals with disabilities in Muslim communities at the largest annual Muslim convention in North America. He and his family were trailblazers in this line of work when few in the community were willing to even broach the subject.

Where Haroon's brother Muneer passed away suddenly at the age of 25 from complications resulting from his disability, Haroon's grief was unimaginable. His family's lives were turned upside down. Haroon was beside himself. I could relate. Losing any family member is tragic. Losing a "special" baby brother is, I believe, even more so. I know that Muneer's passing irrevocably scarred Haroon. I can imagine that a piece of him was forever lost after that.

The last few years have been tremendously difficult for Haroon. In addition to Muneer's passing, Haroon endured a traumatic divorce and the sudden coma of his mother-in-law (whom he affectionately calls "Mommy"), which has now lasted for over 18 months. As his wife's family has grappled with this reality, Haroon has showcased unwavering support and steadfastness. Nowhere is that more apparent than in his role as father to his 10-month-old daughter, Hira. Haroon's role as Hira's primary caretaker has allowed his wife, Naba, to work as a physician and spend necessary time with her mother and family in New Jersey.

The unfortunate events of late have recalibrated Haroon's priorities. Without a doubt, family means everything to Haroon. His daughter and wife are his world, and I know he feels immense guilt and humiliation arising from his own actions and the shame and difficulty he has brought onto his family. He is committed to using this life-changing experience as a way to better himself for the sake of daughter, his wife, and his family — and to return to a life of public service with a newfound sense of gratitude and humility.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Isra J. Bhatti', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Isra J. Bhatti

Aamir A. Rehman
23 Priory Road
Princeton Junction, NJ 08550

November 19, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22312

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

I have known Dr. Haroon K. Ullah for nearly 20 years. We first met when Haroon was a graduate student at Harvard and I was a recent Harvard alumnus working in Cambridge. He and I have remained friends throughout this period of two decades – through times of achievement and growth and also times of difficulties and challenges.

I am deeply saddened that Haroon has violated the law. I am also deeply moved by his remorse for these grave mistakes. I believe that the violations he has made do not reflect the character of the person I have known for many years, but I do see the person I know in the deep remorse, acceptance of responsibility and commitment to never doing anything like this again.

Devotion to Service

When I think of Haroon's character, the key attribute that comes to mind is his devotion to service. This devotion spans his remarkable public service to our country, his groundbreaking intellectual contributions, and, most importantly, his devotion to kindness towards others.

Early in our friendship, I interacted with Haroon not only at social events but also at the apartment he shared with two graduate student roommates. I would often visit their home on Friday evenings, enjoying long conversations amongst the four of us. We discussed our studies and work, our families, our professional aspirations, and the character traits we wished to develop in ourselves.

I have been continuously impressed by Haroon's commitment to public service. While he had numerous opportunities to pursue roles in the private sector, Haroon has been clear and resolute in his devotion to serving our country. He has made sacrifices and has put himself at risk to serve America and our standing in the world. The reality that he will never again work for our government, particularly in the war on terror, is crushing Haroon and I do not know how he will ever get over this.

I have likewise been impressed by Haroon's intellectual contributions. The books he has written are acts of service. Through them he has shared his unique insights and perspective on matters of

national security, international affairs, and culture. He is literally changing minds and saving lives with the work he has done.

Kindness to Others

In addition to the contributions he has made in the public sphere, Haroon has made immense contributions to the lives of his family and friends throughout the years I have known him. I have consistently seen him demonstrate kindness, especially to people in his life who are facing challenges.

In 2016, I faced a serious health challenge and was bedridden for six weeks. This period was immensely difficult for my wife, our three children, and my parents.

Haroon travelled to visit us when I was ill and brought along a thoughtful gift – a biography of John Quincy Adams. The book represents much of what Haroon stands for: patriotism, public service, and humility. Haroon inscribed the book with a touching message about public service and leadership which helped lift my spirits.

Less than a year later, my mother passed away suddenly – her illness to death took place within a ten-day period. Haroon was again very thoughtful and supportive. He drew on his own experience of caring for his brother, who also had passed away. Amongst the many friends who expressed condolences, Haroon stood out in his sensitivity and ability to relate to the passing of a close relative.

For my 40th birthday, my wife and I asked close friends to contribute reflections on what age 40 meant to them. Haroon and his wife both contributed beautiful reflections to the booklet which we prepared for the event.

To quote from Haroon's piece:

My advice to a forty-year-old self says the following: sit with your thoughts, pain, joy and myriad of feelings... I believe sitting in the eye of the hurricane, to sit with that pain or chaos is key to deciding how to react effectively and with valor.

Haroon's piece reflected his commitment to acting "with valor." It also showed that age for was, for him, an "eye of the hurricane" moment.

Eye of the Hurricane

I know that the past 18 months has indeed been an "eye of the hurricane" period for Haroon and his family. Haroon's mother-in-law has been in a coma, and we have seen the immense stress that has put on him and his wife as they commute between Virginia and New Jersey to care for her. Haroon's wife also went through a difficult pregnancy, following a very tragic miscarriage, and Haroon has been bearing a heavy load of child care responsibilities while his wife cares for

both her mother and the baby. He has, to quote his piece, been experiencing “pain, joy, and [a] myriad of feelings.”

I believe that Haroon’s crime was a consequence of being in the “eye of the hurricane” that he described. I have known this man, very well, for over twenty years. He was truly the last person I would ever expect to submit fraudulent travel receipts or documents. I know a man of character and integrity and I have never seen anything from Haroon that would lead me to believe he would do something less than honorable.

Remorse and “Eulogy Virtues”

Haroon has been in touch over the past months while going through the legal process. I have found him to be deeply remorseful. The impact that his actions have already had on his career, his reputation, and his family has affected him deeply. He is harder on himself than I think is appropriate and he has never once tried to downplay his conduct or make this seem like it was not a big deal. In fact, just the opposite.

A few years ago, I attend a workshop led by Haroon in which he spoke about the difference between “resume virtues” and “eulogy virtues.” He reminded us that although we spend a bulk of our time pursuing “resume virtues” such as job promotions, publications, and public recognition, what matters most are the virtues people remember us by at our funerals. These include virtues like kindness, compassion, and service – virtues which Haroon embodies. Haroon’s workshop inspired me to read obituaries of people I admired and seek to prioritize admirable traits.

I believe that Haroon is sincere in his pursuit of virtue. He acknowledges the mistakes he has committed. I believe that he is ready to grow further and restore the admirable character I have long seen him to possess.

I see Haroon as a dedicated father, husband, son, friend and patriot. He is, understandably, suffering greatly and will continue to suffer for his conduct. He feels humiliated and publicly shamed. I believe he appreciates the severity of his errors and will not commit them again.

Thank you, Judge Ellis, for your consideration and I ask you to extend the court’s grace and mercy in fashioning the appropriate sentence for Haroon that will not take him away from his family during this time of need.

Sincerely,



Aamir A. Rehman

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States Eastern District Court of Virginia Judge
Alexandria, VA, 22314

Dear Judge Ellis,

I am writing this about my experience with Haroon Ullah, who has been a mentor to me for the past five years. I still remember the first time I met Haroon as if it was yesterday. I met him attending one of his lectures at a retreat, and I vividly remember leaving utterly in awe. I don't know if I was more moved by what he spoke about, how he spoke about it, or that he stayed behind to talk to every single overeager young person afterward — but I know that it made a massive impression on me. A few months later, as I crafted my first TEDxTalk, it was my notes from his talk that guided my preparation. I remembered how he distilled vignettes into physical objects that broke up his story beautifully, and I learned from his technique — structuring my talk in terms of a story of a lock, of a pen, and of a mirror.

I crafted that talk to distill the abstract into concrete symbols, but I write this today to do quite the opposite — to provide you with specific details that paint a picture of a full vibrant person that has tremendous capacity to better those around him.

I've looked up to Haroon throughout my entire adolescence, so I was obviously beyond disappointed to learn about his illegal actions. I was completely shocked. Frankly, it didn't even make sense to me. In the last few months — I've done quite a bit of reflecting on what it means to be a "good person." I've been let down by quite a few people that have meant the world to me, but I have come to realize that mistakes do not define a person. I believe in the capacity of people to change for the better. I believe in the power of learning from our past. Haroon has accepted full responsibility for his actions — even when faced with public shame, humiliation, and scorn. He has been open about his failings, and has taken the time to reflect on his own shortcomings. I've watched a man that has inspired me since I was fifteen reach his lowest point, have a baby, reflect with sincerity, emerge as a stronger leader, and continue to be guided by compassion.

I first met Haroon at that retreat, but I then crossed paths with Haroon again at a speaking engagement where we were both appearing on panels, and Haroon

effortlessly made everyone feel comfortable — going out of his way to make everyone feel included. He brought his wealth of experience as a scholar, practitioner, and operator — but also his boundless positive energy. He again stayed excitedly to talk to every young person eager to learn from his engaging worldview. I watched closely as I hope to emulate his compassionate leadership, academic excellence, and policy experience. He did the same when he graciously accepted my invitation for him to speak at an event my non-profit hosted a few months later — injecting humor, excitement, and intellect into his session. I didn't know then that I would find myself working alongside Haroon at the State Department just a few years later, but I am infinitely gratefully that I did everyday.

Haroon stretched my thinking in terms of what could even be constituted as a strategic CVE work, how the government can play a role to tackle the most complicated geopolitical issues of our time, and why we would engage with institutions even when they are imperfect. Haroon would work tirelessly crafting programs that made the world safer, but would go home to write his books until dawn every night because he is truly an unstoppable force of nature. He was recognized by everyone in the office as an outstanding leader, friend, and operator. I don't sing his praises because I am embellishing for the sake of a recommendation, but I sing them because I believe them.

Haroon is the type of person that goes the extra mile — introducing me to influential leaders, giving me advice at any time of day, and sending good vibes my way at every pivotal turn. I am a better person because my path has crossed with his.

Haroon is recognized as a leading expert on conflict resolution, particularly political and social life in the Middle East and South Asia. I focus my research at Yale on the role of social media in foreign conflict, and I have often looked to Haroon as an authority, thought leader, and voice on these topics — and he has always delivered.

Haroon previously worked on the staff for three Secretaries of State — and I was honored to work alongside him under Secretary Kerry. I worked directly under Haroon as we used the tools of public diplomacy to work towards creating a safer world — I was moved by his bold thinking of how media can be used as part of the solution. As such, Haroon receives frequent requests from across the government

and civil society communities to provide briefings on what he developed — and whenever I am planning an event, Haroon is one of the first person that I contact without failure. He crafts his narrative of his trailblazing work with care, humor, and purpose.

Haroon's ability to manage and track large scale projects is an amazing quality. Simply put, Haroon is a doer. He knows how to run large teams, to get the best out of his fellow team members, and to lead folks in new directions. It was truly one of the greatest honors of my life to serve on a team with him.

Haroon's devastating actions are part of his story and he will carry this dark period and actions for the rest of his life. I also know that Haroon will take these grave lessons that he has learned and apply to his own life and look to educate others about his own failings. I know Haroon still has the next chapter of his life to write, and I am confident he will tap into the redemptive grace that makes our country so unique. I don't believe people are good or bad, but I believe we all hope we are good more days than bad. I believe that Haroon Ullah is good so many more days than he is bad, and I believe the world is better because of his goodness. I am so grateful to continue to call Haroon a mentor, and I am hopeful that he gets the chance to keep inspiring kids like me — because it really has made a world of difference.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ziad Ahmed". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "Z" and a stylized "A".

Ziad Ahmed
Yale University, Junior
CEO of JUV Consulting

Jeremy Rosner, Ph.D.
Silver Spring, MD

October 17, 2019

The Honorable Judge T. S. Ellis, III
United States District Court
Eastern District of Virginia
401 Courthouse Square
Alexandria, VA 22312

Your Honor:

I am writing regarding your sentencing of Dr. Haroon Ullah. I hope my impressions of him, developed over eight years, may be useful in your decision and incline you toward leniency.

I have worked on behalf of America's national security in several positions, including as Counselor and Senior Director on the staff of the National Security Council, and as Senior Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for NATO Enlargement Ratification. I met Dr. Ullah in 2011 when I worked from February through May of that year as an adviser to the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, focusing on communications, and reporting directly to the Ambassador.

Mr. Ullah was working in the Embassy for the State Department through that period, specializing in programs aimed at reducing violent extremism. He worked for me, with dedication and intelligence, developing several new programs and communications initiatives that were critical to the goal of protecting American interests and lives. These were complex and sensitive initiatives, and our work often drew on highly classified information for which both of us held clearances.

Dr. Ullah impressed me immediately by his integrity, idealism, and his sense of service to America's national security interests. During those months, and during the subsequent years, as we remained in touch socially, I never had any reason to question Dr. Ullah's judgment or his commitment to our country and its ideals. He consistently struck me as an accomplished scholar, a talented writer, a dedicated public servant, a loving family member, and an empathetic friend.

I was therefore shocked and saddened – as were many others who know him – when I learned that he had violated federal law. Although I have not been involved in his legal proceedings, it is my understanding that he has taken full responsibility for his mistakes and crimes, and I am glad he has done so.

Allow me to note some aspects of his work for me and the Embassy as you approach this decision. This was a particularly difficult and dangerous period in our relations with Pakistan and the broader region. The raid on Osama bin Laden occurred during this time.

Dr. Ullah's expertise regarding counter-terrorism, Pakistan, and the region proved invaluable, as he provided astute, actionable insights on how the US could help push back on current violent extremism in Pakistani society. Dr. Ullah's efforts were particularly notable because he continually worked outside the Embassy, directly with leaders of the local media and civil society, despite the personal risks involved. His eagerness to develop direct ties to local educators, journalists, and NGO leaders made his contributions especially insightful and valuable.

Letter to the Court Regarding Dr. Haroon Ullah

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I remain grateful for all Dr. Ullah did to help me and the Embassy during that precarious time, and for all he has done since to serve in a range of other national security positions since then.

None of that excuses his crime. But I do hope that you can find a way to create a sentence that reflects Dr. Ullah's record of service, patriotism, and love of family and community, and creates a path that will enable him to pay his debt while also continuing his wide range of contributions.

Respectfully submitted, with thanks for your consideration,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. Rosner", with a stylized, flowing script.

Dr. Jeremy D. Rosner
Silver Spring, Maryland

Managing Partner, GQR, Inc. (consulting)
Washington, DC

October 5, 2019

Mohammad Bilal Kaleem and Najiba Akbar
53 Concord Road
Wayland, MA 01778

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

My name is Bilal Kaleem, and I am a financial services executive in Boston, MA. My wife, Najiba Akbar, is an MSW and formerly served as a campus chaplain at Wellesley College. We live in Wayland, Massachusetts with our three children.

Najiba and I both have known Haroon and his wife Naba for the past 20 years. We attended colleges in Boston at the same time, and have many mutual friends. We have remained close through the years, sharing many interests, and participating in various projects and trips together.

We were taken aback when Haroon shared with us what had happened in his professional life, and how he had violated the law and his department's employee policies. We heard him out to understand what happened and expressed our desire to support him as he sought to take full responsibility for his mistakes. We submit this letter in hopes of providing you more insight into the full history of his character.

I first came to know Haroon in college as a warm, caring, and gregarious friend - and a hard-working team-player in basketball! I observed early on that Haroon has a strong tendency to offer help and advice freely to those around him without expectation of reciprocity. He has been a very giving person, offering friends and acquaintances his place to stay, or offering educational and professional advice and referrals, including encouraging and advising me to make a switch from private sector to civic/non-profit sector, and then in applying to Harvard Kennedy School.

We have also both observed Haroon's regular work in community service - especially as a counselor in youth programs with youth from our community: mentoring, playing sports, offering guidance, and generally leading vulnerable teens through the difficult issues of identity formation in a post-9/11 environment. Through it all, we have seen his commitment to fostering the ethic of civic engagement and service, both in young people and in his peers, while also choosing a path of public service for himself.

More recently, especially in the past year or so, we have been aware that Haroon has gone through some challenging personal circumstances, including the death of his dear brother Muneer. That was followed by his wife's mother's sudden and unexpected passing into a coma which hit his family especially hard. She was like a second mother to him. Furthermore, it happened around the time of the birth of his first child following a medically difficult pregnancy. These circumstances meant that he had to take on a lot of extra responsibility - helping his wife's family, driving up weekly from Virginia to New


Jersey, while spending a lot of time taking care of his newborn while his wife dealt with her mother's medical needs. This all made for a very stressful couple of years.

In summary, we thank you for leading a courtroom that provides a process for atonement and restitution. Through these legal proceedings, we have seen how Haroon has been honest about his actions. We have also seen his strong commitment to make amends and to find ways to still serve the public in the future. We know that he has deeply felt the gravity of his actions and wants only to move forward with integrity and honesty.

We hope you will keep all of the above in mind as you deliberate upon the appropriate sentence for him. We hope to see him rise to his fullest potential – we know he has tremendous good to offer his family, his community, and the public in the years to come.

Sincerely,

M. Bilal Kaleem and Najiba Akbar



M. Bilal Kaleem



Najiba Akbar

October 16, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

Haroon and I are kindred spirits. I'd heard about him, always in high regard, for several years before I met him in 2007. I knew him as the graduate school roommate of my former college roommate, and as the guy who couldn't shake – probably because he had no interest in shaking – his apparently unreciprocated love for one of my wife's friends from college, Naba.

I was curious about him and became more so after our first meeting, an almost-all-nighter in my apartment during which he patiently recounted to me and a mutual friend the scope and ambit of his affection. It seemed contrary to nature that a love so strong and stoic should go unmatched by a love equal and opposite, but that's precisely what made it so beautiful to behold, the source of our wonderment in seeing a shooting star. He brought to mind Bob Marley's "Waiting in Vain": he didn't want to wait in vain, and yet "the waiting feel is fine." A few days later, I received a package. It was a book, *Walk Two Moons* by Sharon Creech, and there was a long inscription on the title page. "I feel quite kiddish giving you this book – it has been a favorite of mine for awhile...I feel tremendously guilty for keeping you up late ... with smiles, Haroon."

A couple of years later he surprised me by showing up unannounced at a play in which I was acting in New York. A group of us went to dinner afterwards, and he was effusive about my performance, but I could tell that what thrilled him more than my performance, the play, or that production was the simple fact that I did it, that I'd taken the time out of my busy schedule as a law firm associate to participate in something larger than myself, the unifying, life-affirming, and therefore sacred work of artistic expression.

Ten years after the almost-all-nighter in my apartment, Haroon's shooting star found its long-sought match, and my wife and I were honored to attend his and Naba's wedding. He somehow, in the end and despite the odds, did not wait in vain. Theirs may be the greatest non-fiction love story I know. His bachelor party (if it can be called that) consisted of a group of his closest friends reading from religious texts and sharing marital advice.

A few months later, my mother passed away after a long illness. Haroon's presence at the funeral, unannounced and entirely unexpected, was a great comfort to me and my father. I'd known that Haroon had a younger brother with Down syndrome who required constant care and, within the last few years, had passed away. I was ashamed that I hadn't reached out to him since it happened, and yet here he was in the suburbs of Atlanta, salving my father's grief with talk of Lahore, Pakistan, my father's hometown and where Haroon set his book *Bargain from the Bazaar*.

A year passed, and, moments before the call Naba was about to make to her mother to share the news of a grandchild on the way, Naba learned that her mother had fallen into a sudden coma. Naba's family rushed her mother to several hospitals for treatment, and, for a long period during the spring and summer of 2018, she was in the intensive care unit at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, not too far from my house in New Jersey, where Haroon and Naba stayed as guests for several weekends. Haroon was very close to Naba's mother (or "Mommy" as he's always called her), and, from close quarters, I saw him work tirelessly to be a steadying presence – sometimes taking direction, sometimes offering it, always bringing others along, always a comfort – for Naba and her father, siblings, and extended family, as they rearranged their disrupted lives to arrange for Mommy's care. I witnessed first-hand how taxing this period was for Haroon and Naba, and I know it has continued to be so as Mommy's condition has not improved significantly.

I met with Haroon and Naba on several occasions over the last year because of their frequent trips to New Jersey for Mommy, but it wasn't until the spring of this year, when they brought their darling infant daughter Hira to my house for the first time after a difficult pregnancy, that I learned of the mistakes Haroon made at work and his deep remorse for them.

I don't know why Haroon forged certain expense reports or a doctor's note, but I've felt an intense kinship with him since before we met, and having imagined my walking "two moons in his moccasins," to quote from the book he gave me after we first met, I think I have an idea.

There's a thread that runs through his love for Naba, his showing up at my play and my mother's funeral, his care for his brother and Mommy, his capacity to comfort, and even the extended conversations I often found him having with my eight-year-old daughter and four-year-old son in the spring and summer of 2018 in my house, always at their level and never condescending. It's the same thread that runs through his scholarship and professional commitments. What shines through is his unstinting humanity. Haroon has been deeply attuned since childhood to the cruel contingency of life's hardships and to the capacities we have for overcoming them. His life's purpose, so far as I can tell, has been to expand those capacities where he can, however he can, whether in his personal life or through his academic pursuits, whether at the State Department or the U.S. Agency for Global Media. Walking in his moccasins though, I can also see the frustrations that must have come with that sense of purpose when confronting the global issues he worked so hard to resolve in his career and the inevitable, often petty politics that thwarted attempts to resolve them. I can see how that sense of purpose could turn at times into personal ambition and that frustration into cynicism, a willingness to take shortcuts, and perhaps even a sense of entitlement, particularly with the added stress he faced with Naba's difficult pregnancy and Mommy's care. I suspect these vices were not uncommon among his colleagues, and it would deny our humanity to assume we'd be immune. What I know for sure is that he has agonized over his actions and, having suffered for them in every aspect of his life, has already endured punishment of at least the severity that the justice system is intended to deliver in such circumstances.

Haroon's lapses in judgment occurred as he was in the midst of creating a unique career path dedicated to a new kind of humanistic diplomacy that I so looked forward to seeing and think the world desperately needs. Haroon is the first to admit that he made mistakes, but it would

be a great loss to our country and the world if, in our zeal to teach him a lesson he's already learned, we divert him from the path on which I am certain he is destined to do the most good.

Sincerely,



Imran Javaid

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22314

November 19, 2019

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

I have known Haroon for more than 25 years, having met him in the DC area through common friends shortly after we both graduated from our respective universities and then later during his time in Boston where we were both students at the Kennedy School at Harvard. Haroon and I also worked together briefly at a consulting firm based in Cambridge MA. Since that time, Haroon and I have remained in regular contact as friends and our families meet regularly.

Having known Haroon both personally and professionally for so many years, I can say without equivocation that he has consistently demonstrated the values of kindness, compassion, caring and sincere concern for his friends, colleagues and family. While Haroon's professional accomplishments are well known, I can personally speak to the kindness and caring he exhibits in his personal life. One example is the kindness he demonstrated towards my mother, who lives in the DC area and is actively interested in foreign policy and newsworthy issues, particularly as it relates to Pakistan. I know Haroon repeatedly took the time to talk with my mother about the kinds of projects he was working on, sharing insights and thoughts about foreign politics in a way that allowed my mom to participate in events that she normally only be able to see on a TV screen.

My work would often take me to the Richland, Washington area where Haroon grew up and where his family lived at the time. He was gracious enough to offer me to stay with his family on these visits, and my time in their home left a significant impression on me about Haroon. While there, I had a chance to meet his youngest brother, Muneer, who faced a myriad of medical challenges throughout his life as he was born with Down Syndrome. The loving care with which Haroon and his family took care of their youngest sibling, which I was able to witness first hand, was humbling to say the least. Knowing that, I can imagine how difficult the family's loss was when Muneer passed away a few years back.

Knowing how important family is to Haroon and how much time and effort he invests in those close bonds, I can only imagine how difficult and stressful the events of the past few years have been on him including the medical coma his mother-in-law is in.

At the same time, I have known Haroon to be tremendously resilient in how he approaches challenges in his life, ready to tackle them head on and find ways to improve himself as a person in the process. For example, when he was going through his divorce and subsequent marriage to Naba, Haroon spent many nights with myself and my wife Amina discussing issues and looking into himself with introspection and self awareness. Haroon is not only willing to accept his mistakes and admit to them, but

also I have seen him demonstrate a full commitment to working on solving the underlying issues with an aim towards becoming a better person. It is for this reason that I am confident that his current issues with the legal system will not be repeated. I also recognize that he has faced significant emotional and financial consequences in the aftermath over the past year, which I know will make him a better person in the long run.

I consider Haroon to be a close friend and a brother and would unequivocally support him in this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Firas Ahmad', with a stylized, cursive script.

Firas Ahmad
9605 Singleton Dr
Bethesda MD 20817

LAW OFFICES OF ASIM AR GHAFOR

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November 19, 2019

The Honorable T.S. Ellis III
United States District Judge
US District Court Eastern District of Virginia
401 Courthouse Square
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Judge Ellis:

It is my understanding that you are the presiding judge in the case involving Haroon Ullah. Please consider this letter as a testament to my understanding of his good character.

I have known Haroon for over 10 years in a variety of capacities. I've had the opportunity to watch him closely as he has interacted with work colleagues while at the US Department of State. I view him as an honest, conscientious person, and someone that I would hire for my legal consulting business when he is able to put this problem behind him.

Of his own accord, Haroon sought me out and spoke to me. I could see that he was emotionally overwhelmed. He broke down as he told me the details of his crime, the way he had disappointed our community and the pain inflicted on others as a result of his criminal actions. I could see that he was sincere, ashamed and remorseful.

I have been working in the legal field for 20 years. During that time, I have represented many colleagues and working professionals who have gotten into trouble with the law. They do not all hold themselves to the same standards of personal accountability. It is a choice, a mindset and an expression of integrity. Haroon is someone who has gone to great lengths to take himself to account. I have not seen him make excuses or blame anyone for the difficulties he now faces.

We all have chapters in our lives that we'd like to forget. However, we all do not act as responsibly as I have seen Haroon respond to these challenges. He dutifully works long hours in his current position as a negotiation trainer. He spends the majority of his time taking care of his young daughter Hira, while his wife is working in her current position. He also volunteers his time mentoring youth; this is something he has always done, but he does it now with even more fervor, as he believes it is through these acts of service he can start making amends to society.

The Honorable Judge Ellis

November 19, 2019

Page 2

Over the course of time that I have known Haroon, I have observed countless times when his motivations involve causes greater than himself, even in his professional pursuits. Haroon is an author and he writes on subjects related to national security and protecting American interests. *The Bargain from the Bazaar* is his second book, and is a heart wrenching story about a family that was almost torn apart by extremist violence in Pakistan. I recall after reading it, I asked him why he wrote the book. I knew that Haroon had grown up in a small farming community in eastern Washington state. I also knew he spent multiple years living in Pakistan while he worked for the State Department and even lost friends to suicide bombers. Haroon told me it was based on the true story of a family he met in Pakistan, the Khan family. In his life, he told me he had seen many parents struggle to keep their family afloat during turbulent times, including his own. He wanted to write something that honored parents raising their kids, even during difficult times. He commended the Khan parents, especially the mother because of the sacrifice she went through to provide for her kids. He wanted to honor those parents that tried their best to fight extremists, even during insurmountable odds, losing their own family members and loved ones. Many people might want to detail and report on a story about extremists, but Haroon put in years of his time and energy to write this book about the families whose struggles may have gone unnoticed, and the parents who tussled with children who went on different paths than they would ever have wanted or imagined. He wanted to give hope to parents struggling that their impactful work does not go unnoticed.

In thinking about Haroon's recent legal issues, I was reminded of this book, because I know the disappointment of his parents' is weighing on Haroon greatly. I know that for the same reason as he told me he wrote the book, he will not let his recent actions taint his parents' legacy. He will rebuild his life and honor his parents' sacrifices by once again achieving his full potential.

I sincerely hope that I have helped you to know Haroon better. You will have a lot of information about the crime, but I only know him as a good person, with integrity and compassion. It is my hope that he will finish with his criminal justice problems expediently.

Sincerely,



Asim AR Ghafoor

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia (EDVA)
Alexandria Virginia 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

I want to take this opportunity to tell you about Haroon Ullah, someone who I have known for 15 years as a friend, colleague, and advisor who I met through mutual friends. I am in full knowledge of the actions Haroon has plead guilty to. I have always known Haroon to be someone who pushes himself to be as beneficial as he can be for the community around him, and I think this is why his actions and subsequent consequences (including his job loss and future prospects) are so devastating to those who know his potential.

During the years I have known Haroon, I have seen him become stronger with every stressful and challenging situation he has ever encountered. He has been kind, loyal, hardworking, passionate, driven, straightforward, humble and all the good qualities that you might expect in a person who commits himself to a life of service to others. Even when I came to know that Haroon was being charged, he seemed to beat himself up about it. He described the situation so remorsefully and was dedicated to making things right. He has owned it 100% and has accepted all the consequences.

Haroon has been a good, caring and loyal friend. I cannot think of a single reason that would make me think negatively about him. If we see the bigger picture, Haroon has always cheered others up and even helped others even when being stressed and worried himself at times.

Haroon is always looking to help people and to give back whatever he could to serve his community and friends. There is one example that I believe tells this part of Haroon's story very well. One of our mutual friends (I'll call him "M") was quite depressed. Despite being ivy-league educated and ambitious, M had fallen on hard times, both financially and in his work life. He was unemployed and was in a very dark place. Most of M's friends had given up trying to help him, as he could be hard to work with and would often lash out to those trying to help him. Haroon, however, was worried that this dark spot in his friend's life could take a turn for the worse and he wanted to do everything he could. Haroon was conscious and sensitive to his mental health struggles and was extremely patient in listening to him, and persistent in wanting to help M get out of his rut. Haroon was one person who never gave up on M.

Haroon spent an enormous amount of time coaching M and helping him put together his resume to find a new job. Haroon spent hours helping him look and to keep his spirits up during the process, even though he was dealing with his own painful and tiresome family crisis -- his mother-in-law being in a coma requiring months of stay in the intensive care unit and hospital. Soon, with Haroon's help M was able to land in an interview. Haroon spent quite a bit of time doing a mock interview and walking him through the different steps that might help him. M eventually passed his first interview and earned a second interview, and ultimately got the job.

Haroon had succeeded where many of M's friends had given up in helping him. M's wife once mentioned to us that Haroon helped save M's life. Finding him a job was a first step in getting him the stability to be able to deal with the other issues he was facing in his life. M's family was eternally grateful. Hardly anyone knows about this story because Haroon did not do it for any public credit and he does not talk about it. He did it because he someone he cared about was in dire need of help and wanted to do everything he could to change that condition. Moreover, even after the charges were brought against Haroon this year and Haroon was again in a difficult and stressful situation, he continued to advise and help M. This is Haroon in a nutshell. He wants others to succeed and be well, and he will go to great lengths to help them, despite what he may be going through in his personal life. That is a very rare trait.

I see this parallel the type of work he did in government; often overworked with multiple job responsibilities, he continued to take on more and more despite the toll it took on him simply because he was asked to and he wanted the department (initially at State, and ultimately at USAGM) and programs to succeed. I am sure this played a role in the illegal actions he committed, though he would never attribute it that way. In fact, since this legal process started, Haroon has been honest about his actions to all of his friends and colleagues and maintains his commitment to help give back to society and find a new path in public service. He will carry these lifelong lessons with him and I am confident he will not find himself in this position again.

I believe Haroon's best years are ahead of him and knowing him, he will gracefully accept the consequences and focus on redemption through continuing to give back to society. I can only ask that this fuller picture be taken into account so that he is able to do so as quickly as possible, as he has so much to give us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Faisal Ghori', with a stylized, flowing script.

Faisal Ghori

October 15, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22312

Re: Character reference for Haroon K. Ullah

Your Honor:

A few years ago, I ran into Haroon Ullah during a pick-up basketball game. Sitting in the side-lines during a break, I griped to him at length—with him listening patiently and empathetically—about my internal struggles with whether the work I was doing as a Biglaw corporate lawyer was ultimately meaningful and impactful. He probed gently about what I was thinking in terms of alternatives. I mentioned considering sticking it out, changing practice groups, moving in-house to one of my corporate clients, laying out the pros and cons of each. At the end of our conversation, Haroon quietly asked: “But Saif, have you considered public service?” I did not have response. I have thought about that last, startling question from Haroon many times since that conversation. It has been a touchstone as I have revisited my own thinking about my career options and trajectory from time to time.

That the question would have come from Haroon should not have been surprising. I have known Haroon for almost 20 years, ever since we met during his first year at the Harvard Kennedy School (when I was a junior at Harvard College). His desire to go into public service was always manifest, as were his motivations: gratitude for the values of American democracy, decency and fairness from which he and his family, as immigrants, had benefited; a drive to advance those values by building bridges through empathetic scholarship and compassionate action; and a generosity of spirit protective of those in need. Over the years, I have had the opportunity to witness his constancy to those motivations and values.

One of the first incidents over which Haroon and I bonded was his response to a hate crime on campus. A fellow student—a close friend of mine, really more of an acquaintance of Haroon’s at the time—had been targeted in a hate crime on account of his disability (he was deaf) and religious attire. I recall the gentleness with which Haroon tended to our friend’s needs as he recovered from the attack, doing shifts at the oddest hours to accompany him around campus until he felt safe, making sure to grab food from the dining hall, and providing comfort and assurance to his worried parents that their son was out of danger.

I remember vividly the deep sorrow and anger with which Haroon reacted to the 9/11 attacks, which he took personally as an affront to his beliefs and his values. In the immediate aftermath of that terrible day, many in our small Muslim community in Boston were fearful of

walking alone; Haroon was one of the brave, dedicated individuals we could rely upon in our community Safe Walk program. We could also rely upon him to be a voice of reason and comfort in the broader Harvard community that was hurting like the rest of the country, in many cases due to personal loss. I know of at least one incident in which Haroon was told to go back to “where you came from”—he responded with his typical good humor: “Richland, Washington?”—but such incidents never dampened the positive energy that he brought in those months after 9/11 to the work of providing comfort where needed and participating in campus dialogue.

And indeed, that positive energy carried through to his graduate studies. He poured his efforts into scholarship, in an effort to understand more deeply the kinds of political and societal dysfunction that can give birth to terroristic rage, to be able to better thwart repeats of incidents such as the 9/11 attacks. We kept in touch, but met only infrequently as he headed off to complete his Ph.D. in Michigan and then traveled extensively in his postings for the State Department. (I remember connecting him to my late grandfather, a former police officer in Bangladesh, where Haroon was traveling for his research on radical mass movements. I remain grateful that even during a short trip, he made sure to take an afternoon to sit down with an old man to listen to him reminiscing about his own career of service.)

Once in a while, I would have the good fortune to grab dinner with him. I could always expect to come away with deep insights from his ongoing scholarship, be it on mass movements in the Arab world and South and Southeast Asia, or the use and misuse of information over social media. Over the years, I also saw him speak at community events urging young professionals to consider public service—and the ability through public service to positively impact people’s lives with thoughtful, informed leadership and empathetic action—as a fulfilling option. Over that time, I also observed him struggle—but always armed with resilience and good humor—with a knee injury and family crises. I found it striking each time we met that neither his positive energy nor his dedication to his motivations and values had dimmed.

I was thus shocked and heartbroken to hear about the charges against him. They seemed jarringly incongruent with the generous, principled, thoughtful individual I have known for over 20 years. I cannot help but wonder whether the stress of his personal struggles—that I have been witness to as a friend—crippled his better judgment.

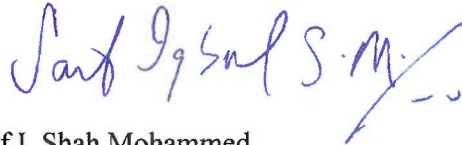
Within the last few years, he was faced with the untimely death of his younger brother, Muneer. Then, without a real chance to recover from that family crisis, he and his wife Naba (whom I have also known as a friend for over 20 years, and who is a physician who, admirably, regularly dedicates her time and expertise to community health initiatives) had to grapple with his mother-in-law going into a sudden, unexpected coma. Naba’s mother had been like a second mother to Haroon, and in the last year or so since the onset of her coma, we have rarely seen them both in Washington, D.C., as they have been traveling back and forth on a near-weekly basis to New York to be with her and cater to her needs. (And in the middle of this crisis, Naba and Haroon have recently been blessed with a daughter.) As someone who has had to deal with a sick, young child over that same period, I can only empathize with the grinding, exhausting stress that Haroon and Naba have had to deal with over the last year and a half.

I understand that none of this excuses what Haroon has done. And indeed, I have never heard Haroon claiming his family crises as excuses. He has owned up to his actions and his personal responsibility for breaking the law. Rather than be mired in self-pity, his primary commitment in both word and deed has been in trying to ensure that he is able to make things right with those who have been adversely impacted by his actions, be it his family, his colleagues, his community, or the country to which he dedicated years of service. He has confronted and internalized his personal liability with admirable humility, grace and self-reflection.

I know he is grateful that the legal process he faces is infused with the same values of decency and fairness that he has dedicated his career and his intellect to advancing. For my part, of course, I worry for my friend on a personal level. But I also worry that my community and my country will be deprived of a much-needed, uniquely thoughtful voice devoted to building bridges and advancing fundamental values. I feel confident, based on my interactions with him over 20 years, that he will remain committed to giving back to society, and find new ways of having positive impacts upon people's lives.

I pray that you will take into account his dedicated service and his potential in your decision on an appropriate sentence.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Saif I. Shah Mohammed", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Saif I. Shah Mohammed
3317 W. Coquelin Terr.
Chevy Chase, MD 20815

October 4, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

I am writing to share my experience in knowing Haroon for the past 15 years as a close mentor, friend and person who is like family. My husband and I were shocked and saddened when our beloved friend came to confess to us that he had violated the law. We are proud that he has taken full responsibility for his mistakes. I write to you now to consider my experience in knowing Haroon to be, without a shadow of a doubt, a person of great integrity and kindness and an immense asset to bridge-building between communities.

I became acquainted with Haroon through my husband, Firas, when we were in our early months of being newlyweds. We had just moved to a new city in Cambridge, Massachusetts where my husband was a graduate student at the Kennedy School in the same program in public policy that Haroon was at too. Through their growing friendship, I became accustomed to seeing Haroon and socializing regularly. Haroon would often join us for dinners at our home, or we would meet with other graduate students as part of our little graduate community, often seeing each other and being in one another's company several times a week for many years. My husband went on to consult at a local company that Haroon was a senior consultant at, and my husband found great wisdom in Haroon's ability to lead trainings and communication seminars to a diverse group of clients globally.

What struck me immediately about Haroon in this early period of knowing him was the incredibly kind and gentle nature about him, and the more I interacted with him the more I knew this to be true to who he is as a person. Haroon always demonstrates a cool temperament, calm and wise, unassuming and welcoming to all. Good temperament aside, it was well known amongst our graduate school friends just how incredibly gifted and intellectually talented Haroon was among our peers, having a strong memory and ability to convey historical facts and provide thoughtful analysis to politics and news of today. Many of us often sought Haroon's analysis on complex issues because of his skilled ability to make complex issues easy to understand. And yet despite this astuteness that surpassed many of us, he carried about him an ability to interact with anyone without an air of arrogance, competition or presumption. It was perhaps for this reason that I turned to Haroon seeking advice on my own graduate path, despite any of my doubts in my own ability to achieve success. He first guided me in pursuing a masters at Harvard in the Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations track, and later offered advice when I further applied for a doctoral degree. Haroon often lent a sympathetic ear when I would convey my challenges in becoming a mother to three boys in the years of my doctoral program. He urged me to stay the course and remain

persistent in my pursuit when many others gave only words of discouragement or lack of support.

It is also perhaps for this reason that I sought after, and continue to seek, Haroon's opinion on matters related to my professional track. As an editor to an independent media network that aimed to be a balanced source of analysis on issues pertinent to the American Muslim community, I often found myself caught in the middle of opposing sides and debates. Haroon served as a person who not only defended my work, but also the publication's approach to free speech and welcoming opinion on different sides of hot button topics. In times of struggle, it was Haroon's wisdom that my team and I looked at on ways to navigate tricky domain of complex issues. We also turned to him at times to help mediate between opposing parties and this because it has always been clear to us how much respect Haroon is given in the broader Muslim community. Haroon is a pillar in the community, well respected and well regarded, often sought out for his advice, and expertise on complicated issues, known for his balanced disposition and gentle nature in conveying information or advice. As an individual who has worked closely in the larger American Muslim community, I know how much he is sought after for his advice on important matters.

But beyond all of this, Haroon is more importantly a friend. Haroon and I built a friendship of trust, where he would often seek my advice on how to win over the one love of his life, his present wife Naba. In these early years of living in Cambridge, I immediately knew of Haroon's deep love and commitment to Naba, despite time and place not cooperating in their union for many years. Over years, this would be a topic of conversation that Haroon would return back to and it was clear to me that he was the type of person that knows what he wants in the core of who he is and remains committed to those ideas. This discussion would stretch over a decade and his marriage to Naba was indeed a celebratory occasion. Now as my husband and I have grown our family, Haroon and his wife Naba and their young daughter are family, often coming to our home and spending quality time with our family. Our three boys are more than acquainted with them, they know them as an uncle and aunty and they remain close to us. Their daughter Hira will also know Firas and I to be an uncle and aunt as well. This is easy to maintain with Haroon and Naba, because we have known Haroon to be a family man. It was clear from as early as we have known him how much love and loyalty he has for his immediate family, never hesitating to help out his parents financially and physically aiding them, and doing all he can to love, nurture and support his brother Muneer. We saw first hand how devastated Haroon was when he passed, crying easily at the mention of him and reflecting, in awe, at how much his parents had done for Munni. This same commitment to family is apparent now with how easily and readily Haroon supports Naba and her siblings in the care of her mom who has been in a coma for over a year. I often reflect back on Naba's baby shower, which I helped plan, when Haroon joined us in paying a tribute to her mom. During a photo tribute, Haroon not only kept one arm wrapped around Naba for support, but let his own emotions have free expression. His open crying only shows how he wears his heart on his sleeve and how much he love and care he puts in to those he knows as family.

I would be grateful for the court to consider his sentence in light of Haroons tremendous professional and personal contributions to his country and community. My husband and I are blessed to know Haroon. I understand that since this legal process started, he has been honest about his actions and about his commitment to help give back to society and find a new path to public service, as he always has. I also know that he is not one to be a repeat offender in errors of judgement, and I know he does not take the consequences that he has experienced this year lightly. I hope that you will keep our words in mind as you decide upon the appropriate sentence to hand down in this case.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Amina Chaudry', with a stylized, cursive script.

Amina Chaudry
9605 Singleton Dr
Bethesda, MD 20817

Salma and Arif Ali
5171 Manning Place, NW
Washington, DC 20016
T: 202 538 9133

6 October 2019

The Honorable T.S. Ellis, III
Senior Judge
United States District Court for the
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria, VA 22312

Re: Haroon K. Ullah

Your Honor:

We write in connection with the upcoming sentencing hearing of Mr. Haroon K. Ullah.

Salma Ali is a writer and the Chief Inspiration Officer of KindWorks, a community service organization serving the D.C. Metro Area.

Arif Ali, is a Partner at the law firm Dechert LLP, where he Co-Chairs the firm's International Arbitration Group.

We have both known Haroon for over 10 years. He has been a frequent visitor to our home, and is dearly respected and loved by us as a friend, and by our two children (aged 23 and 17) whom he has mentored in various capacities.

For Salma, Haroon has generously consulted with her on numerous occasions with respect to her own book projects. Arif has spent many hours with Haroon discussing foreign policy issues and their mutual love for soccer. Our children have consulted with Haroon about their college choices and their career aspirations. He has helped both of them whenever they have asked, especially our son, Zayd. Like Haroon, Zayd is passionate about soccer and has idolized Haroon for many years after he learned that Haroon spent a year after college playing soccer around the world on a post-graduation fellowship. Zayd is the founder of a soccer diplomacy project that seeks to use the power of soccer to bring together communities that might not otherwise interact with each other. Haroon has frequently advised Zayd on the project, facilitated meetings for him at the US State Department, and helped him hone his soccer skills in our yard.

Haroon has always been a shining light of the Muslim-American community, and while he has been generous with his time and efforts for those in the community, he has been equally so for those outside of it. He is a good man, and a caring husband and father. What he has done for our children, he has done for others without condition or expectations of reciprocity. Through our many hours of

conversation with him, we have come to appreciate his deep sense of loyalty to our country, and have marveled at his desire to serve the United States.

Haroon has also been a pillar of strength for his family, which we witnessed when he lost a brother and his parents a son. Today, even as he suffers through his own agonies, his support for his wife, Naba, whose mother remains in a coma, is unfailing.

Finally, we have witnessed first-hand Haroon's deep and genuine remorse for his actions and the sadness and humiliation he feels for having failed his family, his community, his country and himself. We continue to believe in Haroon, and know that he will do all that he can to rehabilitate himself and his reputation in the most positive ways possible. Your Honor, we very much hope that you will help him in this regard.

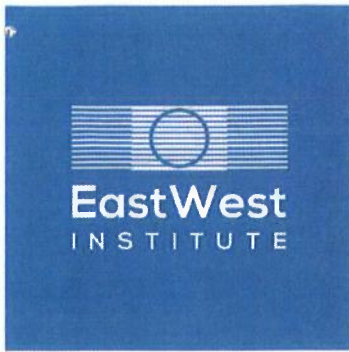
Very truly yours,



Salma Hasan Ali



Arif Hyder Ali



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Russell Carlberg
Office of the United States Attorney
Eastern District of Virginia

Dear Mr. Carlberg,

I write to you on behalf of Haroon Ullah. Haroon has explained to me his situation, and the prospects for his future. And it's this future that I want to address in this short note.

Haroon worked for me 2010-2012 when I was U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan. He was not just one of the many embassy employees. He was truly a standout, someone whose extraordinary knowledge and remarkable gifts made a real difference to American interests during this difficult time. He headed up our efforts in countering violent extremism, doing in practice what so many others simply talk about in theory: addressing the causes of (and the solutions to) terrorist behavior, especially among young people. He was energetic, bright, engaged -- and effective.

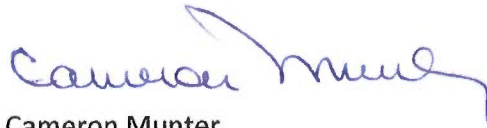
This was not just any time. During this tenure I oversaw the raid that resulted in the killing of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad and a series of other incidents that made our work in Pakistan not only difficult but dangerous. Haroon was a key member of my team, helping us understand the roots of the challenges we faced and implementing efforts to turn the situation around. He showed extraordinary initiative and creativity. He also demonstrated great intellectual breadth and capacity.

It was a time when anyone working for the American embassy was somewhat of a target -- and as I recall, Haroon had some narrow escapes. He showed real character and courage, and I was quite grateful to him for that.

So in that sense, I wish to write you to ask that you consider, as you look at his future, that contribution he's made to our security, and more important, the potential he has to continue to serve America, its security, and its broader interests. By no means do I seek to interfere with the important work you're carrying out. Rather, I ask, as you pursue your task, that you consider the importance of what Haroon can do for the future of the United States, given his proven track record in Pakistan and the enormous gifts that he can bring to bear -- and that the rest of us can benefit from.

Please don't hesitate to be in touch with me if I can help you in any way in the future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Cameron Munter", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Cameron Munter
CEO & President
EastWest Institute

November 19, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria Virginia 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

I am writing this letter on behalf of Mr. Haroon K. Ullah, whom I have known since we were young kids growing up together in Washington state. By way of background, I am currently the CEO of Axiom Learning, an education firm with over 150 employees which is dedicated to empowering kids of all different learning styles, particularly those with the most common learning challenges including ADHD, Dyslexia, Executive Functioning Deficit and Autism, among others. I also help to run our family's soft skills consulting firm, called the SAB Group, which delivers soft skills training (negotiation, communication and leadership skills) to a global pool of clients, including over 125 of the global Fortune 500. I was lucky enough to be named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum as well as having been named an 'Entrepreneur of the Year' by Ernst & Young last year. I also believe strongly in the importance of family and have been blessed to be happily married for over 20 years with three wonderful children, the eldest of whom is on his way to Princeton next fall.

Perhaps more relevant to your assessment of my letter is that I am a firm believer in the importance of rule of law in our society. Having worked and traveled around the world, I find my patriotism continue to rise over time as I see, again and again, how our system of laws and justice continues to be a beacon of light and hope for the world over. The process that this court and our law enforcement community protect and hold sacrosanct is something I hold very dear and consider to be amongst the most important thing we do in all of society. As such, I hope you will take my submission with the intent with which I submit it: In an honest attempt to be helpful in assisting your process of assessing Haroon Ullah's character.

As to why I feel it important to write this letter and why I feel so bold as to presume that I might have something helpful to say, as mentioned above, I have known Haroon since we were kids and watched him grow up into someone who chose to serve his country when I know he had far more lucrative offers at his disposal. Given that I am 7 years older than him, he has always felt like a younger brother. At one point, as I will describe below, he was an employee of one of my firms (the SAB Group) and, in recent years, he has grown to be a close friend as well as a trusted confidant and peer.

Knowing Haroon for as long as I have, I hope to offer a fuller context beyond the misconduct which is the subject of this proceeding. I believe that I am fully aware of Haroon's actions as he has not hidden from his mistakes and has sought to be transparent from the beginning around his errors. If I may be so bold, I would characterize Haroon as humble and having taken absolute responsibility while experiencing deep remorse – not just for the conduct itself but for the impact it has had on so many he holds dear – his wife and daughter, his parents and his community of friends. Irrespective of what this court decides to do, it is worth noting that Haroon has already suffered a great deal by virtue of his very real grief at having caused pain to his loved ones and from the knowledge that he failed in maintaining his otherwise very high standards of personal professionalism and integrity.

It is therefore, perhaps, worth noting the sides of Haroon that may not have come up organically through the course of your proceedings. Growing up in Washington state, we watched Haroon's family struggle with his younger brother Muneer's diagnosis of Down's Syndrome and congenital heart disease. Though they lived in rural Washington state, his mother spent almost a year in Seattle Children's Hospital with Muneer, and my mother and I would often visit Haroon and his family there while Muneer underwent several cardiac surgeries and intensive care stays. I saw first-hand how this experience affected Haroon. Aside from supporting each other emotionally, it was clear that he developed an increased sensitivity towards others which had a deep and meaningful impact on his perspective of what is important in life. The financial strain that their family underwent while supporting Muneer motivated Haroon to make a personal commitment to not put any additional financial strain on his family. In the true American can-do spirit, he started mowing lawns, got a newspaper route and dedicated himself to excelling at sports in the hopes of getting a scholarship for college (which he eventually got for playing tennis). I also saw the strong commitment he made to his family in helping to take care of Muneer, his relentlessly positive attitude towards life challenges, and his resilience in adapting to difficult situations. Among the things that Haroon has done in his life that I am most impressed by is that, from the day Haroon left home to go to college, he has called his mother every day to check in on her. It didn't matter how busy he was, or if he was traveling in some far off land across multiple time zones – Haroon called his mother *EVERY. SINGLE. DAY.* It is sometimes said that you can judge a person by how he chooses to act when there is no obligation to do so and, among many other things, this consistent act of devotion still moves me.

Haroon was somewhat of a superstar growing up in eastern Washington. He was intelligent, driven and ambitious. When he was in high school, I went on to Columbia University and Harvard Law School so, perhaps he thought of me as a mentor and we would communicate often about his life goals and how to achieve them. Truth be told, Haroon required little guidance, as he not only became his class salutatorian but, as noted above, was a star athlete. Despite being recruited to many of the country's top universities, Haroon again chose family knowing that they would need support with Muneer and elected to stay within driving distance at Whitman College, where he played on his tennis scholarship. I always felt a sense of pride when Haroon superseded his goals

and cheered his successes (and continue to be impressed with his ability to beat people in racquet sports with his left hand, despite being right-handed!).

When Haroon was in Boston studying at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, we found ourselves back in the same area as I was running my consulting firm. After Haroon graduated, he lived in my home for some time with my mother, wife and three sons. Haroon was a trusted member of our family as we raised our three boys. Haroon could always be counted on to help and our sons continue to admire him and see him as part of our extended family.

It may also be worth noting that I broke a personal rule against hiring family and friends based on my perception of his trustworthiness and professionalism and hired him to join our family's consulting firm, the SAB Group (described above). Suffice it to say, Haroon validated my taking a risk by being exceptional in his role and consistently received outstanding evaluations from training groups who found him engaging, intelligent, charismatic, genuine, and on point. He was passionate about his job and is, in fact, a rare talent who has consistently exhibited the humility of treating everyone around him with warmth and respect. Over the course of his employment, Haroon and I took multiple business trips together and navigated numerous client engagements together. I relied on him heavily and could trust him to do what was needed to deliver excellence, no matter the time and no matter the effort required. I had hoped to keep Haroon on for much longer but, as Haroon and I have both believed since we were young, when your country calls you to serve, you answer that call. So, despite the fact that he would be taking a *significant* pay cut, when offered the opportunity to serve his country, Haroon chose country over personal benefit.

In fact, Haroon loved his time in service. His passion for public policy and advancing American ideals at home and abroad is virtually unmatched. He was a rising star in government, having served in both Republican and Democratic administrations with equal zeal and fealty. He honorably served the country as part of the professional Foreign Service staff while in Pakistan. What many people don't know is that Haroon was targeted for his service while in Pakistan, including being held at gunpoint by Pakistani forces threatening his very well-being and safety. Despite these challenges, Haroon continued his service there until being asked to come back home and serve in DC. Time and again through his actions, Haroon has exhibited his sense of responsibility to serve our country irrespective of any personal risk.

Your honor, when I spoke at Haroon's wedding several years ago, I told a story of how I knew Haroon growing up and how I could always depend on him whenever I was in need. Our friendship has always been built on the foundation of a spirit of public service, giving back to others and living a life of gratitude. Since then, I have watched Haroon flourish as a husband, new father, and a devoted son-in-law, despite many stresses. His mother-in-law has been in a coma for some time and continues to deteriorate, his own parents are increasingly dealing with health issues that he has had to help with and his wife, Naba, had a very difficult pregnancy that required his ongoing

support and attention. Combined with Naba needing to see her mother every week (even after the baby was born) and the fact that he is often the primary care-giver to his daughter as Naba supports her own family, I saw the toll it took on him. I recall telling them both that they needed to take breaks for themselves, but they have always replied that they just can't take any breaks given the circumstances.

In the hopes of being helpful to Your Honor and, to the extent that I am able to offer thoughts on Haroon's state of mind and the costs that he has paid for his actions, I would also like to take the liberty of adding a few additional things. As You Honor is no doubt aware, the price that Haroon will pay for his errors will extend long into the future. Despite his love of public service, prodigious talent, record of success and desire to serve, as a consequence of his actions, Haroon will never again be able to serve in any government positions. Decades spent building a career in public service have now been wiped out. It is worth noting, also, that in recent weeks I invited Haroon back to the SAB Group to work with a number of clients and, just by virtue of their doing a Google search of his name, we have already had 4 clients refuse to work with him (including one client who said that Haroon delivered the best training they had EVER had and then Googled his name AFTER working with him), which (given that he is to be paid per engagement) is an ongoing financial hit he will continue to take for years to come. For a man whose career is built on his reputation and a network of people who have known him during his best hours, Haroon has already paid a significant price financially, reputationally and, in terms of future career prospects, and will continue to feel the consequences for decades to come.


When Haroon informed me that he had broken the law and was facing serious consequences for his conduct, I admit to being disappointed. While obviously devastated for him, his family and what this would mean for him and his career, I also found it deeply out of character. I believe that Haroon knows what he did was wrong and if given the opportunity to go back and do it again, he would not only do the right thing he would proactively make sure that others around him behaved properly as well. It is not just that he feels remorse for facing consequences, it is that he knows (and has said to me repeatedly) that he knows better and failed himself in a rare period (and what I believe to be isolated) of lapse in judgment.

As stated above, I am a firm believer in the rule of law – it is what separates us more than anything else from every other nation in the history of humanity. I should say, also, that I am a believer in the power of redemption when it is preceded by true remorse and a commitment to doing good. Haroon has already paid a significant price for his mistake and will continue to pay a price for the rest of his life. Simultaneously, I have found his remorse to be genuine and his commitment to doing better (and helping others do better as well) to be sincere. It is exactly because I believe that his misconduct was atypical that I am showing my support by writing this letter and by again offering him a job with my company, the SAB Group. No one of us is perfect and it is my hope in writing this letter that we assess Haroon's character not just by his worst actions but, perhaps,

through the totality of his behavior before and after the events that brought Haroon into your courtroom. For my part, I have faith that Haroon will find a way to continue to serve family, community and country while finding good purpose in the long life hopefully still ahead of him.

Your Honor, I hope that my letter has proven to be helpful to you in your deliberations. If I can ever be helpful to Your Honor or the court in any other way, please do not hesitate to call me on my cell phone, 202-352-8258, at any time.

Warmest Regards,



Shahzad Bhatti
CEO

Axiom Learning

"Because the Future Is Too Important to Leave to Chance!"

Rabia Chaudry
3806 Dunhill Court
Bowie, MD 20721

September 25, 2019

RE: Letter for Support for Mr. Haroon Ullah

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis,

My name is Rabia Chaudry, I am an attorney in good standing with a practice background in civil rights and immigration, and most recently, wrongful conviction work. I also spent six year working in national security policy, first with the New America Foundation, and then with the US Institute of Peace.

I first met Dr. Ullah through personal interactions at social events and he offered to assist in connecting me and guiding me in my national security policy work. I had heard about Haroon's trailblazing national security work while at the US Embassy in Islamabad. We gradually became friends and over the years every time I reached out for assistance or support, in a personal or professional capacity, he was there for me.

As a friend, I advised Dr. Ullah and see him deal with a number of situations in the community and among his work colleagues. Dr. Ullah is always giving of himself to others and looking to mentor and provide help in whatever he can do. He goes out of his way to help, which is an admirable trait in a town where everyone tends to focus on their own careers and ambitions.

For example, Haroon is passionate about mentorship of college students and getting them to consider careers in public service. Haroon was on the board of the Muslim Public Service Network, which aims to get young Americans interested in ways they can serve their country and forge careers in federal and public service. When Haroon spoke to me about it with passion, I asked him if he would be willing to talk to my daughter Hira, who was an undergraduate student in computer science at George Washington University. He gladly agreed and before I knew it, he was convincing Hira to apply to the program. He spent a lot of time to talk to her and helped her with her application. He also helped Hira secure an excellent internship with a government agency. In the end, my daughter loved the summer program and made life-long friends in the process. She still talks about it to this day and a year after participating in the program, returned to be a mentor to the new class. It would have never happened if Haroon hadn't taken the time to convince Hira and to make her path easier to finding an internship.

Dr. Ullah has always maintained a stellar and well-earned professional reputation, working long hard hours, and being a brilliant and dedicated analyst and advisor who supported not just me, but many other friends in their career and personal pursuits.

I have seen Dr. Ullah as a friend, husband, father, intellectual, author, and career government professional. The unfortunate criminal actions I know about in his plea that have led him to this place today do not reflect an ounce of his character, but were simply the result of poor judgment in one of the most difficult times of his life. Moreover, he has taken full responsibility and is committed to the road to redemption.

I ask that you please consider his decades of service to this nation, his young child, and the love and support of his family and community as you take on the weighty task of sentencing him.

With prayers and regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Rabia Chaudry', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Rabia Chaudry, Esq.

rabiachaudryesq@gmail.com

347-401-8544

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria VA 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis:

My name is Faria Abedin, and my three children and I have known Haroon for over six years. Haroon has been very involved with my children. We met him through a summer interfaith camp, Mizaan, and got to know him better through his involvement in my son's anti-bullying organization, Redefy, and our local faith-based community. We were shocked and saddened when our beloved friend came to confess to us that he had violated the law. Haroon was open about his grave errors. We are proud that he has taken full responsibility for his mistakes.

Please accept this letter as our way to tell you about Haroon.

Six years ago, we arrived to the Princeton Mizaan summer camp, where we met Haroon while he was teaching a course for adults and teenagers on service. Immediately, we saw his open, dedicated and all-embracing love for other people. This has continued over the years, as we have seen Haroon work tirelessly and joyfully to be of service to others.

All three of our children attended the Mizaan camp. Haroon came up with creative and interactive exercises to teach them how they can give back to their communities and the value of service to others. I was impressed with how Haroon connected with young people, especially my teenage children. My son Ziad was in one of Haroon's classes and was so inspired that he asked Haroon if he could keep in touch and Haroon said yes, resoundingly. Ziad immediately got in touch with him when he got home after the camp and Haroon stayed in close touch with him. My son founded an anti-bullying organization called Redefy, and he asked Haroon to come keynote on a panel for the organization. Haroon came to Princeton and spent the weekend with us, while speaking to young people about bullying and how they can overcome any hurdle in life.

Haroon and Ziad became close and my son became interested in pursuing a potential career in public service. Haroon convinced him to consider spending part of his summer in Washington, DC. Haroon helped my son get an internship at the US State Department, where my son worked on developing apps to counter violent extremism. Ziad didn't have a place to stay and Haroon volunteered to put him up in his own house. Haroon became both a mentor and an older brother for my son and took him under his

wing. My son loved his internship and was able to present his new app at the United Nations and at a Facebook launch event.

Haroon continued to give his time to all of my children, helping them with their applications for summer internships, essays and talking with them about potential career paths. Haroon was unlike many others -- he took a genuine interest in what they were doing. He was just as excited about their achievements as if they were his. I would often thank Haroon for all his help, as I was a single mother for a while and raising my children wasn't easy. Haroon would respond that he derived inspiration from my children and that in many ways mentoring helped him more than anything.

When my son was accepted to Yale, Haroon was the first to volunteer to drive him to campus for the first time for his orientation. Later, when he was invited by Yale to speak on disinformation, he invited my son to his talk. It has been a privilege for my son to learn from Haroon. I trust Haroon as part of our family and he has always been there for me and my children.

We are incredibly blessed to know Haroon. I have often joked to his wife that I am the president of Haroon's fan club. The name of the camp we initially met Haroon at, Mizaan, ironically means "scales" or "justice". Since this legal process started, he has been honest about his illegal actions and about his commitment to redeeming himself. Despite suffering the loss of his job and his entire career trajectory in government, I maintain that he continues to serve as an excellent example to my children -- of how to accept the repercussions of errant and grave conduct, and how to take full responsibility and turn it around for the greater good of society. I hope that these characteristics are kept in mind as you decide upon the appropriate sentence to hand down in his case. Thank you so much.

Sincerely,


Faria Abedin



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Arsalan Suleman
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November 19, 2019

Via E-mail

The Honorable Judge T.S. Ellis, III
U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia
Albert V. Bryan U.S. Courthouse
401 Courthouse Square
Alexandria, VA 22314

Re: Sentencing of Haroon K. Ullah

Dear Judge Ellis:

I write to you regarding Mr. Haroon K. Ullah, whose case is before you for sentencing. I have known Haroon for over fifteen years, going back to when we were graduate students, and I also served in government with Haroon for several years.

I served in the U.S. State Department from 2010 to 2017 in various capacities, including as Deputy U.S. Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)¹ and later as the Acting Special Envoy to the OIC. In those roles, I worked with various State Department colleagues to advance, *inter alia*, U.S. efforts to counter terrorism and violent extremism globally by equipping our allies and entities like the OIC with the capacity and skills to implement counter-extremism programs. I now practice law in Washington, DC with Foley Hoag LLP.

Throughout my time at the State Department, Haroon was an indispensable expert and adviser on how to design and implement counter-extremism programs in Muslim-majority communities. He developed this unique expertise through his academic studies and through direct fieldwork in Pakistan at the U.S. Embassy to Pakistan, where he led efforts to incubate several innovative counter-extremism programs. He applied that depth of experience in his roles on the Secretary of State's Policy Planning staff and later in the Office of the Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy.

I worked with Haroon to present to the OIC the model of establishing counter-extremism messaging platforms that leveraged the reputational strengths of the OIC and

¹ The OIC is a 57-member intergovernmental organization made up of primarily Muslim-majority countries.

The Honorable Judge Ellis

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religious scholars to discredit and debunk the ideology of terrorism promoted by Al Qaeda and ISIS. Due in significant part to Haroon's critical efforts, the OIC created such a messaging center, "Sawt Al-Hikma (Voice of Wisdom): Center for Dialogue, Peace and Understanding," and has been an active partner in U.S. efforts to counter terrorism and violent extremism globally. This is but one example of Haroon's work, but it shows the far-reaching impact that he had in working across offices and bureaus at the State Department to advance U.S. policy interests.

Haroon has been a committed public servant. He has served the United States honorably for several years, including abroad in a dangerous hardship post, and has sacrificed much in his personal and family life to advance the mission of protecting U.S. national security. He has worked in government across presidential administrations, reflecting his ultimate commitment to country over any particular political party.

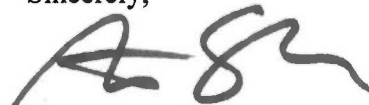
At a personal level, I have always found Haroon to be a sincere and caring person who seeks to better the lives of those around him. He has spent most of his adult life mentoring students and helping to provide them with opportunities to learn and advance in their careers. He has volunteered countless hours to non-profit organizations serving various communities in need. He cares deeply about family, and is a devoted husband and father to his baby daughter.

Haroon clearly made serious errors in judgment, for which I know he accepts full responsibility and ownership. He is a spiritual person, and his faith has helped him cope with this calamity in his life. Haroon is driven by a passion to do good in the world, which is why he excelled in government service. He has spent much time reflecting on his mistakes and his future, and this episode will be a lesson that he carries with him forever.

Knowing Haroon, I believe that his greatest punishment is the knowledge that his mistakes have disappointed those who love him, tarnished his reputation, and derailed a promising career in public service helping to protect U.S. national security. And while he has lost the opportunity to continue that particular career path, I know that Haroon is motivated more than anything else to redeem himself in the eyes of his loved ones, and ultimately in his own eyes as well. His goal remains to do good in the world, and I am confident that he will with renewed urgency and vigor.

Your Honor, I humbly request your leniency and compassion as you consider Haroon's sentence. I know that he has learned from and has been punished in various ways for his mistakes already. In my humble opinion, taking him away from his child and family now would be a gratuitous and unnecessary punishment. I hope you find this letter helpful.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'A. Suleman' with a stylized flourish at the end.

Arsalan Suleman
Counsel

Nov 18, 2019

Honorable Judge Ellis
United States District Court Judge
Eastern District of Virginia
401 Courthouse Square
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Honorable Judge Ellis,

I am writing this letter in my personal capacity as regards to Haroon Ullah, who I have worked with professionally and mentored for the last 13 years. I am very saddened about Haroon's serious criminal actions and his grave errors. He has shared these recent developments with me and has taken full responsibility without blaming anyone else, but himself. I know he has spent time reflecting on his conduct and making changes so he never falls onto that path again.

I serve as a Distinguished Professor of International Relations at Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies (NESA) at National Defense University (NDU) in Washington DC. Earlier, I served as a department chair and Professor of International Security Studies at NDU since 2011. I trained and taught Defense Department's next generation of counter terrorism military and intelligence experts and work with our young men and women in our military that so bravely serve and defend our country in war zones from Afghanistan to Somalia. I have written books on the Taliban and other extremist groups that threaten our nation. I can say with confidence that Haroon Ullah is one of the America's best counter terrorism experts and is world-class in his ability to thwart and operationally degrade extremist groups like Al-Qaeda, Taliban and ISIS. He is an incredible asset to US national security.

I have first met Haroon when he was a junior fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center and I served as a fellow and senior advisor. Haroon's passion for protecting America was palpable. It led him from growing up in rural America to one of the most dangerous places in the world. He told me early on about his ambitious doctoral work to examine Al Qaeda and Taliban, which later led to his first impressive book called *Vying for Allah's Vote* (Georgetown University Press). He voluntarily went to the most dangerous areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan to collect valuable data and fieldwork on extremist groups. It was an incredibly brave initiative. He knew that the only way to defeat Al Qaeda and the Taliban was to understand how they truly worked, so that we could design policies to dismantle it.

Haroon always wanted to go into public service and was recruited to work on Richard Holbrooke's outstanding Afghanistan-Pakistan team. One of the youngest members, Haroon instantly made an impact by helping shape US policy towards the region. Haroon was able to leverage his expertise in the region and to guide diplomatic and security efforts. During this time, the US Ambassador designee Cameron Munter met Haroon and surely saw what many of us had seen in Haroon, someone with immense counter terrorism knowledge, a tireless worker, a total team player and someone that loved to protect his country. He recruited him to come to Pakistan to protect American interests and lives.

As a policy scholar that focuses on the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, I made frequent trips to Pakistan during the years. I observed Haroon in Pakistan and saw first-hand the work he had done to attack

Al Qaeda and Taliban interests. It is very difficult and treacherous work. When one fights against extremist groups in the region they make many enemies and Haroon's life was constantly at risk while he served at the Embassy. He routinely developed contacts, designed programs with local implementers and worked 24/7 to look for ways to degrade the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. As a result, Haroon's life was under constant risk but he was undeterred and he courageously ended up renewing his tour in Pakistan and the region. He took all the security threats stride because he knew how important it was to serve his country. He was a patriot. Haroon continued his counter terrorism expertise to challenge ISIS. He was among the first ones to recognize the devastation of ISIS and its methods using digital media. Few thought ISIS would become the menace that it would become, recruiting foreign fighters from over fifty countries and numbering over 30,000. Given these outstanding credentials and contributions, Haroon was invited as a guest speaker at NDU and many other places to benefit from his invaluable insights.

Haroon Ullah is at the forefront of protecting the American homeland and American interest from those that want to destroy us. And I do not say that lightly. Haroon has the special tools and know-how on how to design and implement authentic policies that ultimately save American lives. Haroon Ullah has been nothing but stellar in my experience of knowing him over the past thirteen years. He certainly is already ahead of the curve on how to protect the American homeland from terrorist cells and lone wolves. I have no doubt that Haroon has saved countless American lives through his brilliant analysis, strategic insights and hard work in the field. I earnestly believe that he will continue to do amazing things for US national security in future also as he builds towards redemption.

Haroon has learned important life lessons that he will carry with him for the rest of his life. I sincerely believe he fully understands the nature of his wrongdoing and that he is on the path of humility and redemption. Haroon Ullah still has a lot to offer this country and I believe he will find ways to give back and redeem himself.

Sincerely,



HASSAN ABBAS, Ph.D.
Distinguished Professor of International Relations
Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies (NESA),
National Defense University, Fort McNair,
Washington DC 20319
USA